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THE
SPEECHES

OF

JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

DURING THE
WESTMINSTER ELECTION, 1796:

WITH HIS

TWO ADDRESSES

TO

THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

ALSO, THE
SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HON. C. J. FOX;

On Saturday, June 11, the last day but one of the Election.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DINNER

OF THE

FRIENDS OF JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

On Tuesday, June 28.

THE ONLY CORRECT EDITION PUBLISHED.

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JOHN HOWARD YOUNG

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ADVERTISEMENT.

London, June 15, 1796.

THE Publication of the Addresses and Speeches of JOHN HORNE TOOKE, during the late Election, has been undertaken in the present shape, in order that PRINCIPLES so truly patriotic—so consistent with every idea that has an affinity to Common Sense—expressed in language which speaks so eloquently to the heart, and which must command the involuntary admiration even of *Despotism* itself—may be as universally disseminated as the “whips and scorns of the times” will admit of.

To avoid swelling this Publication to an unnecessary length, and thereby to bring it within the compass of every man's purchase, the Speeches of the other two Candidates have not been inserted here, excepting one Speech only of Mr. FOX, which was delivered by him on Saturday last. In that Speech, Mr. FOX himself declares, that in what he had previously said, “he had confined himself merely to a statement of the situation of the Poll;” and that “he would now enlarge upon topics of which he had hitherto forborne to speak.” He proceeds in a strain so manly and eloquent, that it would be doing equal injustice to the Public, and to him, to omit it. Its insertion is, besides, the more necessary, as it was particularly referred to in the short Speech with which Mr. HORNE TOOKE finished the business of that day.

As to the *Speeches* (if they can be so called) of Sir Alan Gardner, *the friends* of that Gentleman will readily excuse the omission of them. To publish a *literal copy* (and no other ought to be given) of what he uttered, would be to furnish food for *ridicule and laughter*. No other possible purpose could be served by it, excepting to *insult the understandings*, and wound the *feelings*, of those of his Electors who have any pretensions to either.

It may be proper, perhaps, to add, that this Edition of Mr. TOOKE's Speeches will be found to possess an advantage, in point of Accuracy of Detail and Expression, not elsewhere to be met with.

June 28, 1796.

SINCE the publication of the first Edition of these Speeches, the whole have been carefully revised and corrected: And the PUBLIC may be assured, That THIS is the ONLY AUTHENTIC and CORRECT Edition of the Speeches delivered by JOHN HORNE TOOKE during the late Westminster Election.

ADDRESS.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is only in times like the present, when attempts are flagitiously made to murder innocent men, that the progress of a Candidate can possibly be from the Hustings to Newgate, and from Newgate back to the Hustings. The circumstance declares the times: For any man who could reasonably be even suspected of deserving what I have suffered, would be abandoned by the whole human race.

But you must be well aware, that if I had never known, or, knowing, had not loved the free Constitution of my Country, I should not have been VOTED a Traitor by the usurping Proprietors of Boroughs; who, under an insidious pretence of attachment—not to *Kingship*, which we acknowledge—but to *Monarchy*, which we abhor—are endeavouring to undermine (it is not the place for me here to say how far they have undermined) the lawful Government of *King, Lords and Commons*; and to substitute a Tyranny of their own, under (the most odious of all forms) a temporary, elective Dictator, dependent only upon their own corrupt and prostituted votes.

In the pursuit of their plan, and for the establishment of their power, they are endeavouring to seat themselves on the same Throne, by the side of their Sovereign—by perverting those Laws of Treason which were *exclusively* designed to protect the person of the King, and his share of the Government—by perverting them, to protect equally the share which themselves have usurped.

If they can succeed in this, their next step is a short one—they will trample on him: And whenever the Crown shall hereafter be awakened, and, too late perhaps, compelled to struggle with these usurpers, the most loyal adherents of Royalty will be destroyed as Traitors against *Their new Majesties*: the King will have no means left to protect his most faithful Subjects; and the Crown may find itself without a defender.

This, this attempt of their's, is the great master-treason against the Crown, the Nobility, and the whole Commons of the Realm.

In order the more efficaciously to resist these Traitors to us all, these *un-acquitted Felons*—or to lay down my life usefully to the Public, in opposition to their plunder and tyranny—I again offer myself to represent you in the ensuing Parliament.

If the purpose of your Election were to choose a Master, or to promote a Minister, or to bestow any portion of power or emolument on the object of your choice, I should acknowledge myself to be the last person who ought to present himself to your notice. But, if your purpose be to appoint a Servant—whose duty it is to pursue your interest, not his own—to maintain your rights, not to obtain an office for himself—to follow singly your will, independently of all Parties, and all other Connexions—I may then with confidence offer myself, and say, that in me you shall, if you please, find

A Faithful Servant.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

SPEECHES.

FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1796.—FIRST DAY.

THE Westminster Election commenced this day. Mr. Fox was proposed as a Candidate by Mr. Thomas Scott and Mr. Harry House: Admiral GARDNER, by Sir Thomas Turton and Admiral Ommaney: And Mr. HORNE TOOKE, by Mr. Sutton Sharpe and Mr. Felix Vaughan.

Mr. Fox, in a short and sensible manner, said a few necessary words on his public claims, and on the confidence which the Public placed in his integrity.—Admiral GARDNER, having no words to throw away, said nothing; but Sir T. Turton made a *dreadful long speech* for him—much too long for the patience of the People; for they very fairly hooted him down.—Mr. TOOKE very shrewdly said, “Gentlemen, I will not keep you one moment from the Poll: the worthy Baronet has spoken quite enough for all the three Candidates.”

At the close of the Poll, the numbers were,

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|-----|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | - | 232 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - | - | - | - | 129 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | - | 132 |

Mr. TOOKE spoke at some length with the utmost liberality to both the other Candidates, and with great ability discussed the interests of the Electors as they regarded the common good of the Nation—But, as it did not occur to any one, till after this day, to take notes of what was said at the time, we have to lament that we can only give a very imperfect sketch of a very impressive speech.

He observed, that the situation of the Country at this moment was serious and awful indeed: that our prospect abroad was gloomy; at home—“every thing short of despair!” That, at such a moment, it was highly important to the Electors to consider

sider well whom they should send as their Representatives into a Parliament which perhaps might have to determine the final destiny of the Country : That, of the political sentiments of two of the Candidates, they were able, from long experience, to form some opinion : That the third Candidate came a stranger to them : by *stranger*, he did not mean that the Admiral was personally or professionally unknown : on the contrary, Mr. Tooke acknowledged that he was well known as a brave and gallant officer, and a worthy, good man ; and one of the best of qualities they must have observed in him this day—great good nature ; for he had borne an intolérable badgering on the Huslings with a temper that was to his credit : but Mr. Tooke meant, that he was politically a stranger—unless, indeed, he had attracted their notice by the uniform, though silent support which he had given to the measures of the Minister in the last Parliament.

Mr. Tooke said, he concurred with every word Mr. Fox had uttered in reprobation of the present War ; and he wished the Electors to observe, that during the present Reign we had engaged only in two Wars ; and that both these Wars were upon a principle *adverse to LIBERTY!!!*—the first, against Liberty in America !—the second, against Liberty in France ! That his declared disapprobation of the War with America had cost him twelve hundred pounds, and twelve months imprisonment : That, for his disapprobation of the War with France, he had suffered six months of *close* custody in the Tower, and one month of *close* custody in Newgate—had held up his hand arraigned as a Traitor, and sat in that situation during a whole week's Trial at the Old Bailey !

He said, that if any man who was unacquainted with all the three Candidates, had recourse only to their Advertisements upon the present occasion, he might be inclined to suppose that they were all three in unison, and had drawn up their Addresses in concert. The Admiral's Address speaks of "*domestic enemies* : " It is required to explain who these domestic enemies are : Mr. Fox's Address gives the explanation ; for it asserts, and truly, that " the last Parliament has added more to the burdens, and taken away more from the rights, of the Subject, than any Parliament recorded in the annals of our History : " While the third Candidate (meaning himself) points out the remedy, the means of getting rid of these domestic enemies, the Proprietors of Boroughs—those false weights upon the Constitution, which give motion to the whole machine of Ministerial Corruption. Thus, he said, had the Addresses of the three Candidates, taken together, made out amongst them the true situation of the Country.

From this situation of the Country, he said, resulted matter of most serious consideration for all the Electors and Non-Electors of the Kingdom. All constitutional and necessary check was taken away from the Courts of Justice : they might perceive it by sentences passed, contrary to all legal precedent, and which were fit only for the Devils in Hell to pronounce. It was idle to talk of
the

the torture used in other Countries—What did they think of a sentence to be FLOGGED DAILY for FIVE years?—*for such had been passed!!!* Perhaps they might not be aware of the force of technical terms—“To be kept to hard labour.” What was “hard labour?” What a Jailor (chosen and picked out for the purpose by those who passed the sentence) might *choose* to *think* hard labour! What was the legal meaning of the word “kept?” It was *flogged!* And he defied any Lawyer to explain it away.

He said, that such were the doctrines and practices to which the Electors were now called by their votes to give their assent or dissent. He advised them, therefore, to leave the Admiral better employed in combating the foreign enemy at sea, and not to employ him in fighting the Minister's battles in the House of Commons.

SATURDAY, MAY 28.—SECOND DAY.

The state of the Poll this day was as follows:

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|------------------|-----------|-----|
| For Mr. Fox, | - - - - - | 480 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - - - - - | 372 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - - - - - | 258 |

MR. TOOKE came forward, and, after universal shouts of applause, addressed the People in the following words:

“Gentlemen, The contest is now brought to that point which I wished, and which I hope the Electors wish. The question for the great City of Westminster now to decide is, whether it is, or is not, their wish, to have any voice in the ensuing Parliament, which may have to decide the fate of the Country? The Electors of Westminster will certainly consider, whether any man in his senses ever did or ever can employ a pair of horses in such a manner as to put one *before* and the other *behind* the carriage, so that they might strain and struggle against each other in opposite directions; and whether a man that did so would be likely soon to arrive at the end of his journey. This must be precisely the case if they elect Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardner. I HAVE NEVER BEEN, and NEVER SHALL BE, of ANY PARTY. Every man's honour ought to be in his own keeping. His own principles, and *the instructions, orders and commands of his Constituents*, should always be the sole guides and directors of his conduct. I do not so differ from one of the Candidates, but that I may often be instructed and assisted, and (where his way of thinking may permit it) be supported, in the cause of the Electors, by his great abilities. This is an advantage which the Ministerial Candidate cannot have, and which probably he will not desire.

“I have a personal advantage by this contest, even so far as it has already proceeded. Ever since Mr. Pitt has been elected *Dictator* of this Country—not elected by the People, but by the *Pretorian Band!* by the means of loans! contracts! places! pensions! titles! ribbons!!!—for many are still desirous to have them,

them, although the history of this Country abundantly proves that many have received a ribbon for *services* that deserved a *halter*—[Here there was a very long interruption of applause]—I reckon it a great advantage to myself, that the course of the Poll has shewn, and no doubt will continue to shew, that I have the honour to be the Candidate most hated by him, and—*perhaps the most feared*.

“ The Electors of Westminster have likewise an advantage by this contest ; for they have shewn, what I never doubted, that there still exists a Public : they have proved, what I always believed, that Englishmen are still Englishmen. The disinterested and generous support they have given to me, I should at any period have thought cheaply purchased with my life ; and no man shall ever hear me complain, whenever or however I may be called upon to pay that reckoning. The satisfaction I receive does not indeed give any additional health or strength to my body ; but, whilst I am addressing you, it banishes all sense of pain.

“ A more important advantage may be gained by this Election. The Electors may teach KINGS : they may give a most important lesson to *the present King*, and to all future Kings of this Country, by proving to them that they may safely discard all faction and partiality, and corruption and bribery, all indirect and underhand management, from the scheme and system of their Government ; and may, with full security, rely and cast themselves upon the People : for, when they see the disinterested support which the People give to the smallest, they may judge what gratitude they would shew to the greatest, if convinced, by their conduct, that the real object which they had in view was the safety, and happiness, and liberty of the People.”

MONDAY, MAY 30.—THIRD DAY.

The Poll this day terminated thus :

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|------------------|---|---|---|-----|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | 769 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - | - | - | 718 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | 580 |

The numbers being declared, Mr. TOOKE said,

“ Gentlemen, Sir Alan Gardner has told you in his Advertisement (and would have told you again if you would have listened to him), that he loves his King, and his Country. It is necessary also for me, I perceive, by the state of the Poll, to say, that I love the King.....*according to Law* ; but I love my Country better. A King may employ his time in hunting the harmless stag or timorous hare, while his Ministers may enjoy the more sanguinary chase of running down his People : At present, therefore, I say, I love the King, according to Law ; and whenever a King shall protect me and my fellow-subjects from the murderous plots and conspiracies of his Ministers, I will love him beyond the Law—beyond the letter of the bond.

“ But,

“ But, Gentlemen, the gallant Admiral has told you he has two loves; and he seems to have made a prudent choice, and been a very thrifty wooer. For his love to his Country, he has obtained, and deservedly obtained; the rank, and honours, and emoluments of his profession—He is an Admiral and a Baronet. For his love to his King (as it is called), the Minister has appointed him to a seat at the Admiralty Board, with a salary, as I take it, of 1200*l.* a year.

[Here a great applause delayed Mr. Tooke for a few minutes; and Mr. Hood and Sir Alan Gardner said, he was not now a Lord of the Admiralty; he had quitted it.]

“ If I have made a mistake (said Mr. Tooke), let me rectify it as I go on: The Admiral, it appears, has been divorced from his second love. However, this intelligence neither moves me nor him; for he will not be the first Admiral who, after he has been divorced, has married his Lady again. Having been so fortunate in his first amours, will you wonder to be told that the Admiral is fallen in love again? He has fallen in love with a widow, who brought to each of her two last husbands a British Peerage for her portion! It is nothing wonderful that a Baronet (a little Baron) should wish to become a Baron. Unfortunately, Peerages are too often disposed of at the conclusion of a Parliament; and, when disposed of in such profusion as at present upon Members of the House of Commons, I cannot help thinking it a sort of political adultery; and, for my own part, I should think it as much honour to be called a *Cuckold* as a *Lord*.

“ The worthy Admiral wishes to protect us from our foreign and domestic enemies. He must be sincere; for he has said so. I have an interest in believing him; for I think it will speedily end this contest. The expence of corruption necessary to obtain a majority of votes for the beginning of a War, and the continuance of corruption for a majority of votes to continue the War, is many times greater than the expence which would be sufficient to support eternally defensive and victorious Wars against all the world. *It is impossible*, under this double expence, *to carry on a War, for any length of time, against a Nation which has cut off that expence of corruption.*—If the Nation with which we are at War has cut off the greater expence of corruption, and if this be one of the chief causes of their success—surely, then, the getting rid of corruption would be of more advantage to this Country, than the efforts, however great, of any single Admiral, or of all the Admirals in the world.

“ I have shewn to the Admiral, to you, and to the Public, (unless he or any man can contradict this statement), how we may attain the means of arriving at that situation which has been obtained by foreign success: And I persuade myself that the Admiral will never suffer his name to be joined with persons—

[Here Mr. Tooke hesitated for some moments, and a few persons laughed] I mean (continued he) to say enough, and not too much. My difficulty

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difficulty is not to bring out words, but to stop them. The gallant Admiral, I am to suppose, does not know the *infamous tricks employed by Administration* in support of his Election. I trust I have said enough to persuade him to retire from this contest."

TUESDAY, MAY 31.—FOURTH DAY.

The following was the state of the Poll this day :

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| For Mr. Fox, - - - - | 1121 |
| Admiral Gardner, - - - - | 1019 |
| Mr. Tooke, - - - - | 893 |

Mr. TOOKE said,

"Gentlemen, When I had the honour of addressing you yesterday, I was interrupted in consequence of a mistake which I made in respect to the Ministerial Candidate—not having studied the *Red Book* so fully as I might have done. They were glad of an opportunity of shewing that the Admiral was not at present a Lord of the Admiralty. But this was an error to which every man is liable; for they shift their places and their titles so frequently, it is impossible to know by what names they choose to be called, since the *Lord Hawkesbury* of yesterday is to-day the *Earl of Liverpool*!—In consequence of this mistake, I did apply myself to the study of the *Red Book*, and found the Admiral's name to a very snug sinecure. If he thought it an advantage to him to deny that he was at the Admiralty Board, will he think it an advantage to him that he has the sinecure place of *Major-General of Marines*? For his friend, who is equally anxious to prove that he has not a seat at the Admiralty, he, likewise, has a sinecure place of *Collector at St. Kitt's*, I take it, of 1600*l.* a year.

"However, for the mistake I hope they will forgive me, when they consider, that I NEVER DID, NOR EVER WILL RECEIVE, FROM THE PRESENT OR ANY FUTURE KING OR ADMINISTRATION, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, BY MYSELF OR ANY OTHER PERSON, THE BENEFIT OF ONE FARTHING.

"Having settled that account, I beg leave to take notice of some circumstances which have been mentioned in conversation by the friends of the Ministerial Candidate, and stated in the Ministerial Papers of this day. It has been mentioned as a subject of reproach, that there was a Coalition between Mr. Fox and myself. I mention it the rather, because it may possibly serve in some measure to direct the conduct of the Electors in the future course of the Poll. The Ministers have shewn that they fear it, and dread it; and well they may; for if all the persons who have voted singly for Mr. Fox had given their second votes to me, and all who have voted singly for me had given their second votes for Mr. Fox, the Ministerial Candidate must by this time have *turned tail*. You will give me leave to state to you what is the cause of this Ministerial fear: it is not so much that they fear the loss of one vote, more or less,

in the House, as that they seek to make it appear that the Public is weaker than it really is, and that the Ministerial influence is stronger than it really is. And those who consult the Poll, which very few ever do, will perceive, that the numbers who have polled for Mr. Fox and me on this occasion, will shew what a *decided opinion* has been given by the Electors against the present *detestable* Administration.

“ I wish that the Poll of this day may be the example of the future days of the Poll. Mr. Fox is at the head of the Poll: it gives him pleasure, and I desire it should be so. I am the second upon the Poll; and I think I have polled between 40 and 50 to-day more than the Admiral.

“ I have ventured to say this to you—not fearful of any imputation of Coalition; for my character is known to be intractable—if you please, obstinate. I hope, however, I am very flexible to reason and sound argument; but I do acknowledge, and I make it my boast, that UPON ALL GREAT PUBLIC QUESTIONS, NEITHER FRIENDS NOR FOES, NOR LIFE NOR DEATH, NOR THUNDER NOR LIGHTNING, SHALL EVER MAKE ME GIVE WAY THE BREADTH OF ONE HAIR.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1.—FIFTH DAY.

At the conclusion of the Poll this day, the numbers were,

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|------------------|---|---|---|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | 1616 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - | - | - | 1750 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | 1192 |

When the numbers were announced, Mr. Tooke spoke as follows: “ Gentlemen, Sir Alan Gardner has this moment desired me to speak a few words for him: I beg that you would hear the Admiral. I have a great interest that you should do so. I should be extremely gratified if you would at all times hear Admiral Gardner *speak against himself*. It is impossible, and would be unbecoming in me, to say so much against the Admiral as he would against himself.

“ After what Mr. Fox has said, it is fit for me to give some account of my conduct during the poll. I have never made any engagement except one—except that engagement which I entered into shortly after I was born, to oppose, by all the means in my power, Oppression and Tyranny, in whatever shape they presented themselves.—I have not presumed to dictate to any Elector; but whoever has asked my opinion, I have done what I shall continue to do—I have begged him to vote for Mr. Fox. I am not, have not been, and cannot be neutral: even what Mr. Fox has this moment said, makes it impossible—for he has declared, that the Ministry build their power upon corruption, and that, by their two infamous Bills, they have destroyed the very vitals of the Constitution. How then can I be possibly neutral, when one of the Candidates, Mr. Fox, opposed these measures; and the

the other Candidate is now connected with them, and was a Member of the last Parliament, giving his aid to all those evils of which we complain? But when I say so, though I differ with Mr. Fox on this occasion as I have on other occasions, I impute nothing to him: he has his way of thinking, and I have mine.

"The Ministry have made a great poll to-day; and if there were any adversity in it, it would not be so bitter to me as to those not so much accustomed to it, because it has been the chief food of my life; but I do not consider it as adversity. The seat is by no means the ultimate object of my pursuit; it makes but a small part of what I seek: however, I believe, in spite of this poll, that that seat will still be obtained.

"I have been asked by some of my friends, and those some of the best friends of the public cause in which we are engaged, how I could possibly expect to succeed in this Election, against a Ministry who had been able in three years to raise and to squander so many millions to the King of Prussia, the King of Sardinia, the Emperor of Germany, to Hesse, to Hanover, to Brunswick, and the rest of the hirelings! I have been asked besides, will not they who have spent a hundred thousand pounds in the late prosecutions—who have imprisoned and ruined hundreds of innocent men merely to destroy you—will they not spend two hundred thousand pounds, if necessary, to keep you out of Parliament?—Gentlemen, these questions appear to me to be reasonable and well-founded. But this does not dismay me; let it not dismay you.—[*Here many cried out, "IT NEVER SHALL."*—The millions which they have already squandered upon Despots in this crusade for Despotism, are gone from this Country, never to return; and many millions more than they can by any means extort from us, will still be wanted for the same purpose. This profuse and profligate Ministry, the friends of the Candidate at the head of the poll, are deep in arrears of every kind: they are deep in debt to every person and to every service. The Constable who took me into custody attended (an honest and a good man)—he attended the first day of the poll, to give me a vote. [*A long interruption by a great shouting, during which Sir A. Gardner said, "Hear the sequel, hear the sequel."*] Sir Alan Gardner begs you to hear the sequel: I'll give it. The Constable complains that Mr. Dundas, who gave him that illegal and infamous warrant, for which he must one day be brought to justice—he complains, that this scoundrel Secretary of State [*a long interruption by the Ministerialists*] I desire to be clearly understood [*interruption*—let me be fairly understood. I mean that he is a scoundrel both as a Secretary of State and as a man. I wish to tell you that sequel which Sir Alan Gardner recommended you to hear. I was speaking of the Constable. He complained that this Secretary of State, who, by his own assumed authority, and contrary to Law, sends him to take up and put in dungeons BETTER MEN than himself, never paid him a farthing for his trouble. He complains that they owe him near 300l.

" I have before desired you not to be dismayed at this poll; nor should you be dismayed at the appearance of the state of the Country. The Ministry have undertaken what is beyond their power. The expence of enforcing Slavery throughout Europe, whilst they are establishing it at home, will exceed the wealth of all the individuals of this Country collectively, altho' they should continue for ever tame enough to be drained and beggared to the last shilling in this cause. It is pretty evident, nay, it is plain, that their resources begin to fail: One resource, however, they have,—I know they have it—to procure ready money for Elections of this kind; for I know they have used it before upon similar occasions. I'll tell it you as shortly as I can, and afterwards the reasons why I tell it you.

" An Act of Parliament was made some years ago, to prevent the misapplication of public money.—The receipt for the different offices is sent to the Bank, and the different Boards are to give specific drafts for the specific purposes to which the money is to be applied: the Solicitor or Agent produces certain bills to the Board, which, he says, should be paid: the Board orders the payment, so that all things stand fair in their account: the money is received from the Bank—(I speak, I believe, in the hearing of persons who know the truth of what I say.) The confidential Agent or Solicitor receives that money, and lends it to the confidential friend of the Minister, to — at our Elections. *Thus, you see, no Laws will ever make us safe, unless we have a fair representation of the People in the House of Commons, to enforce the execution of the Laws.*

" Now for the reasons why I have told you this: First, to shew you that our's is a trifling and ridiculous triumph, when they reluctantly give us an honest law or two that will never effectually be put in practice: and, in the next place, to give warning to all concerned in this iniquity—I give them warning—You will certainly return me, and I shall certainly bring them to justice. Now, then, Gentlemen for the last reason; and I am sorry I have detained you so long—I hope this will tend to make us even more *unanimous* than we are—that even those *contractors* and *tradesmen* of Government, and *public creditors* who must vote against me, who are *compelled* to have their names appear upon the *ministerial list* at an Election, will see that it is *their interest* that I should be returned, that the *public creditor* may not be *unjustly kept out of his money*, but have it fairly as soon as his *bill* is ordered for *payment*."

THURSDAY, JUNE 2.—SIXTH DAY.

The numbers this day were as follow :

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|------------------|---|---|---|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | 1978 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - | - | - | 2116 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | 1377 |

Mr. TOOKE said, " Gentlemen, I rarely trouble you with any reference to the numbers on the Poll; but I must intreat you

you not to be alarmed at the numbers you have seen to-day. I beg you to reflect, that little more than three thousand persons have polled, and that there remain ten thousand Electors who have not yet given their votes. I beg you to consider the difference between the Voters—The Voters for the Ministerial Candidate are *disciplined troops*: On our side they are all VOLUNTEERS, and as independent in the times of their coming up to poll, as they are in the motive for their votes. Consider, besides, that the Placemen, the Pensioners, and Contractors, are all struggling hard for their profits, and the Ministers for their *forfeit lives*. Their eagerness then will not surprise you; and that will account for the alertness of the Poll on their side: but I little doubt that Mr. Fox and myself shall still both of us succeed in this Election. If it should be otherwise, if the worst should happen, let this be our comfort—it *will not be a pardon for the CRIMES of the Ministry, but only a short respite*.

“ During the course of this Poll, Mr. Fox and myself have had a disadvantage—a disadvantage which your justice and kindness to us will, I hope, remove. The disadvantage is, that by permitting us to address you, and listening to what we say, we are not only liable to mistakes (to which all men are subject, and especially in such a situation as this), but we are also liable to those misrepresentations and misinterpretations which our adversaries are very industrious to circulate. From this disadvantage the Admiral has been relieved. This day you have, for the first time, done what I hope your justice to him and your kindness to us will induce you to do during the remainder of the Poll: You have heard, and will continue to hear the gallant Admiral.

“ There has been a misrepresentation or misapprehension of two things which I said yesterday. The first requires a very short explanation. I said, it would gratify me if you would permit the worthy Admiral to speak *against* himself. I meant, by speaking against himself, no want of ability, no personal imputation upon him, but merely that, in order to defend himself, he must defend the Ministry by whom he is supported, and to whom he has given, and must hereafter give, his support; and I suppose, that his defence of the Ministry would be the strongest condemnation of himself.

“ I have but one circumstance more to mention to you—it brings with it such thoughts into my mind as almost prevent my utterance. I applied an epithet, a gross one, in a very personal manner, and which must needs be offensive to the ears of all decent men. But if they will give me a patient hearing, and listen to the end of what I have to say, I flatter myself that the Candidate himself, and all his friends, and all the adherents even of the Ministry, will go away satisfied with me this day. I shall have no occasion for reasoning or argument, but shall barely state a fact.

“ It is unnecessary to bring back to your memory, that I have been kept in close custody seven months—excluded, during that time,

time, from all communication or correspondence with any of my family or friends. It is unnecessary to remind you, that I have held up my hand as a Traitor at the Bar of the Old Bailey. But, with what I shall tell you, I suppose you are all entirely unacquainted, because it is not to be found in any account of the proceedings. Mr. Dundas, my next door neighbour, and who had been so for two years, knew perfectly well the situation of my family, with which others of the Ministry might not perhaps be acquainted; but *he* knew it perfectly well. My family consists singly of myself, and two young women, my children. *He*, a father of children himself, took me away suddenly, detained me in close custody, without any communication or correspondence, and left my house and my family for twelve days and nights in the possession of four common Thief-takers from the Police-Office! It almost overpowers me when I think of it.—Look at the refinement of this man's malice. It was not enough that their father's head should be stuck upon a pole, that his body should be quartered, that his fortune should be confiscated, and that his children should be sent out naked and friendless, and beggars, into the world, *unless he could contrive that they should be sent out DISHONOURED too!* These are the men whom the Admiral must support; for these are the persons on whose interest he relies for success. I must do justice to one person in the Administration, who was a father, and in a situation like my own—He felt compassion for me, and did contrive a communication for me, by which I was enabled to prevail upon a Lady and her daughter to put themselves into the same terrible circumstances, and go down to my house in the middle of the night, to continue and reside with my family, to save them from this intended dishonour.

“ Now, then, I call upon all of you who hear me this day—men—women—parents—children—the Admiral himself, and all his adherents—if you have hearts, say—was I wrong when I used this epithet? For my own part, I acknowledge that I was wrong: But I was wrong by necessity; *for there was no word in the language strong enough to apply to him.*”

FRIDAY, JUNE 3.—SEVENTH DAY.

When the Poll closed this day, the numbers were,

| | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | 2275 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - | - | - | 2349 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | 1569 |

Mr. TOOKE said, “ Gentlemen, Before you heard the gallant Admiral; I foretold you that you would hear him speak against himself. You have heard him; and have you not heard him speak against himself? Mr. Fox has made it almost unnecessary for me to notice any thing that the Admiral has said, except that he has missed the strongest instance of the Admiral's self-

self-condemnation. He says, that Mr. Fox has constantly voted against the measures of the Minister, good and *bad*. Need I draw the consequence? He acknowledges that his friend, the Minister, has proposed bad measures.

“ The Admiral has changed his phrase. He is a week older, and is now no longer a lover, but a friend. He tells you that he is a friend to the King, and a friend to the Constitution. I did not hear him say one word about THE PEOPLE; and yet it is *for their sake alone* that we have either *King* or *Constitution*. He has likewise avowed, that he is a friend to the Ministry; and though he has not said so, I suppose he would wish it to be understood, that he is also a friend to his Country. To be a friend to both, appears to me to be at this time very difficult: they appear as opposite as light and darkness. Yet it is not absolutely inconsistent, if you call in to your aid the circumstances of time and place. He may declare himself a friend to his Country here upon the Hustings, and prove himself a friend to the Minister by his vote in the House of Commons. But for the direction of your conduct in the course of the Poll, he should have offered to you reasons why you should be the friends of the Minister. To his friendship for the Minister, he may probably be directed by a common proverb—“ Always speak well of the bridge which carries you safe over.” You need not trouble your head about the questions, at whose expence the bridge was built, or who is to keep it in repair.

“ But, Gentlemen, I beg not to be misunderstood. I do not think that your late Representative, Lord Hood, nor your present Candidate, Admiral Gardner, have had or ever will have half so much as their professional merit and services deserve. No honest man will ever repine at the well-earned reward of bravery and talents. The Naval and Military Services are two ungrateful professions. Neither the Privates nor the Officers have half the support which they deserve, nor are ever sufficiently recompensed. But I complain, and the Public have a right to complain, that the Minister perverts the professional talents and private virtues of brave men, and employs them as instruments to subvert the Liberties of the Country. To common Boroughs, the Minister may send men of no character, or men of infamous character—but, for a great City like this, he always takes care to pick out a person of the best character he can find, and who will submit to be made this use of.

“ If any person was to say to a man of common sense, “ I bring with me here an excellent *cook*; he serves me up very good dinners; I recommend him to you for a *hair-dresser*—the other would laugh in his face; and yet such is the manner in which the Minister insults your understandings. If the Admiral should question me about the rigging of a ship, I should certainly make a very scurvy figure; and I strongly suspect, that if I was to put two or three questions to the Admiral about the rigging of a Constitution, he would not make a better.

“ Now,

" Now, Gentlemen, what has the glorious First of June to do with the choice of a Representative in Parliament? And yet this has been made by the Minister a sham and a pretence to cover the corruption of that day's Poll. We shall soon have another glorious day, the Fourth of June, the birth-day of the King. All sort of respect to the King is undoubtedly proper, But is that the anniversary most dear to Englishmen? Is there not an anniversary more glorious and more dear to us than the anniversaries of the birth-days of all the Kings who ever infested or blessed the earth? I mean, the birth-day of our LIBERTIES. I mean, the anniversary of the glorious Revolution in 1688—That Revolution which was earned for us by our forefathers, to protect us from those evils of which we now justly complain, and from those politics which the Admiral avows.

" The Admiral has contented himself with saying, that he is a friend to the Ministry; but he has not informed us, whether it was on account of their *integrity* or *wisdom*. We all of us feel their *integrity* in the taxes and burdens which they have laid upon us: And as for their *wisdom*, I will give you and the Admiral one sample—The People were starving for bread: the *wise* Corporation of London met, consulted, and debated, to find out some means of alleviating the public distress: the Privy Council also met, and they requested the Corporation to suspend their determination until they could be assisted by the superior wisdom of their consultations; they did so: the Privy Council discovered the means of relief; they told them, *they must find a substitute!* This to Englishmen!—*a substitute for bread!* If you do not admire the wisdom, admire the impudence of this information. Now, then, observe the folly of this conclusion. Suppose you had accepted of their advice, and had found a substitute in grains or grass: as soon as they had become the common food of Man, there would have been a scarcity of grains and grass, and then they must have proposed another substitute. But, I say to you, (and for this declaration I may again be called a Traitor) *accept no substitute for bread; for, if once the common people of this Country submit to eat grains and grass, or any thing worse than bread, they will never henceforward have any thing better.*

" The Admiral told you, if he had as many words as the Candidate on his left hand, he would do—something or other—I know not what. Now, you must all have noticed every day, that the Admiral has expended many more words with you who stand in the front of the Hustings before the close of the Poll, than have been used by Mr. Fox and me together after it was closed. He wants no words. He has a manly figure, a good voice, well chosen expressions; and when he talks upon a subject with which he is acquainted, and is not restrained from uttering his real sentiments, no man acquits himself better; and therefore I shall trouble you no farther, but wish you to request of him to answer those things which he has now heard."

SATURDAY, JUNE 4.—EIGHTH DAY.

At the close of the Poll, the numbers were,

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | 2529 |
| Sir Alan Gardner, | 2624 |
| Mr. Tooke, | 1634 |

Mr. Tooke said, " Gentlemen, The Admiral has undoubtedly said nothing to you to-day that I can possibly contradict or reason upon. He has barely informed you, that your exertions have placed him at the head of the poll, and that the same exertions, continued in the same manner, will keep him there!

" It has been used as a reproach to Mr. Fox and me, that we had united for the purpose of the present Election: I wish that reproach had a better foundation. In one thing, however, we certainly are of a mind, and probably in many others, as I believe and trust we are. But I think I risk no contradiction from any quarter in saying that we certainly agree in this—that the *sinking rubbish* of the present Administration must be removed before the foundations can possibly be laid of a building which Freemen may inhabit with safety and comfort. If the present Election had been carried with a high hand against the Minister from its commencement, or if it should still (as it easily may) be carried with a high hand at the close of the Poll; I have no doubt that the present Administration would barely continue during the necessary interval for forming another.

" I hope, Gentlemen, you will not be at all disheartened by the numbers upon the Poll; but that, for your own honour, you will remember the manner in which the horse-dealer tries his cattle. Any sorry jade will draw, if the carriage follows without much resistance; but the experiment he makes is this—He ties his horses to a tree; and when they find the tree does not follow, some of them, after hard struggles, lie down in despair, and no lashing can produce a fresh exertion; these are jades: other horses strive and struggle, and strain and drag, until the horse-dealer is contented and satisfied with their bottom.

" Gentlemen, We are tied to a tree—the tree of Corruption; and in this Country, its height and bulk, and weight, are indeed vast and enormous. The disinterested and generous exertions which you have already made in the course of this Poll, have, I will venture to say, shaken it. Pull again—it will totter! and again I say, Gentlemen, pull again—and it will tumble to the ground! May I be permitted, Gentlemen, to direct your pull. The Electors of Westminster do not want inclination to the public cause of Liberty in which we are engaged: they only require invitation. If every Gentleman who hears me this day, and is well affected to the same cause, will exert himself, and call upon and bring up to the Poll a willing Elector, the Minister's triumph will be of very short duration, and we shall at once send the Admiral with glory and spirit back again to sea."

MONDAY,

MONDAY, JUNE 6.—NINTH DAY.

The state of the Poll was as follows:

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|-------------------|---------|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - - - - | 2983 |
| Sir Alan Gardner, | - - | 2979 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - - - | 1913 |

Mr. Tooke said,

“Gentlemen, I have more satisfaction from this day’s Poll than from all the days which are past—not because I have polled a greater number of votes, but because my Poll, under all discouragements, continues steady. This Poll shews a steady People, and the steadiness of the People is of more consequence than the gaining of any Election. You have this day thrust down the Admiral one step. The Admiral tells me that it is a very small step: it appears, therefore, he does not value very much being the first in your esteem. I trust you will go on, and give him an opportunity to shew the excellence of his temper, by trying how he will bear to be shoved down the other step.

“The Admiral has said nothing to you this day but to return you thanks—which he does not owe; for the numbers upon the Poll are notoriously not given to Sir Alan Gardner, but to *Mr. Pitt* the Minister.

“The Admiral told you the other day (with what decorum you will consider), that he should much rather choose to be returned your Representative in Parliament (which is merely a political situation)—he would rather choose to be returned with the Right Hon. Gentleman than with the other Candidate, although at the same time he declared that he disliked the politics of that Right Hon. Gentleman. He did not, however, add a single word of disparagement of the other Candidate, whom he rejected for a colleague—I do not think he can: But if he can, or if those who sent him here can, I should be glad to hear it; and I think, after such a voluntary and uncalled-for declaration, he owes it in his own justification to you. In the mean time, I am left to find out the reason of his preference from the expressions which he has used. I am compelled to suppose that the Baronet’s reason is contained in the two words *Right Honourable*; for with these words he graced that Gentleman’s name. A title before a name may be a very natural motive for a Baronet’s preference in the choice of his colleague; but I will endeavour very shortly to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of a Representative; and I shall do it with the greater satisfaction to myself, because Mr. Fox has a much better and a much more solid claim to your support; I mean that very opposition to the Minister which the Baronet dislikes.—In this Country, if any of you have been at the parade, or at a review, you have seen the Commanding Officers stand gallantly before their men (as the Candidates do here upon the Hustings), and give the word of command *in front*: You are egregiously mistaken

mistaken if you suppose they do the same in the time of action—No, Gentlemen; they then give the word of command *from behind!* This will always be the practice in all other services, as well as the military, as long as favour, and birth, and title, and parliamentary corruption, and money; promote men to superior offices: the higher their station, the safer in time of action will be their situation.—Now, then, Gentlemen, look at the conduct of that enemy, from whom you may learn some other things more useful than the *telegraph* which we have adopted. With them, superior merit and bravery alone, promote their private men from the ranks, and place them in command, and even at the head of their Armies. See the never-failing consequence of this practice in their last brilliant victory at Lodi, when a column of their bravest grenadiers were for a moment stopped, and hesitating at the furious cannonade of the Austrians; *six* of their Generals rushed foremost at the head of the column, gave their command, and (what was better) their example *in front*; and victory immediately followed.

“ You, Gentlemen, the Electors of Westminster, and all the other Electors throughout England, will do well to consider, and to ask yourselves, these questions:—In our present cruel struggle between Liberty and Slavery, who are the persons starving for want of bread ?

“ To whom do the Ministry propose a substitute for bread ?

“ Who are the persons oppressed, beggared, dishonoured, vilified, and ruined ?

“ Who are languishing and rotting in their gaols ? [*A voice from the crowd said, Horne Tooke*].—It is true, I have been frequently in prison; but at present I had forgotten myself—I was thinking only of you. I wish you to consider, who are sentenced to be flogged to death, or are tortured (the cruelest of all torture) with putrid diseases in their prisons ?

“ Who are sent as Felons to Botany Bay ?

“ Who are cast into dungeons, and treated and tried as Traitors ?—[*Many persons present exclaimed, “ THE PEOPLE.”*] Gentlemen, you say true: It is so: it is we—we, the privates in the ranks. Where, all this while, were our Political Generals ? Where were our Right Honourable and Honourable Representatives ? BEHIND.....SAFE in the REAR.....*reposing on their beds of Pension and of Privilege !!!*

“ Gentlemen, believe me, you cannot possibly have the smallest chance, you cannot reasonably entertain even the smallest hope of success, unless at your Elections you pass by these Lords and these Lordlings, these Barons and Baronets, and choose your Representatives from amongst the privates in the ranks.”

TUESDAY, JUNE 7.—TENTH DAY.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were,

| | | |
|-------------------|---------|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - - - - | 3332 |
| Sir Alan Gardner, | - - - - | 3321 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - - - - | 2078 |

After the polling was over, Mr. TOOKE spoke as follows :

“ Gentlemen, I have heard with great concern, that an insult was offered to Sir Alan Gardner last night. I am firmly persuaded, that such an insult was not offered to him by any persons who have stood before these Hullings during this Election. If I thought it was, I should scarcely trust myself ever to open my lips here again—for I have spoken to inform you, not to inflame you.—I am very much pleased that you have listened patiently to the Admiral this day. Had you not, it was certainly my determination to have troubled you no more; for it appears to me as dishonourable to continue to deliver my sentiments in opposition to those of another Candidate who is not permitted to speak, as it would be to strike a man whose hands were tied.—But, Gentlemen, as you have heard him with respect, and as I am persuaded he will retire this night to his house as quietly as either of the other Candidates, I venture, for your information, to ask him some questions, which I should otherwise have suspended. The Admiral can certainly give you material information, which no other person here can.

“ The Admiral has solemnly pledged himself to you for two things—To vote for an *honourable Peace*, whenever that *honourable Peace* can be obtained. [Mr. Tooke here turned to the Admiral, and asked him whether it were so? The Admiral answered, “ Yes.”] The Admiral does not retract, as I dare swear he never will any thing that he says: he confirms the pledge. He has likewise pledged himself to combat the domestic enemies of the Country. He told you that he spoke to you as a Seaman, which I suppose means with the sincerity characteristic of the profession. He would disdain to make, or appear to make, in a solemn manner, an ambiguous or equivocal promise. I shall, by my questions, give him an opportunity to make it impossible for his most unjust and bitterest enemies to suppose that he could do so.

“ *An honourable Peace!*—What is an honourable Peace? By your hearing the Admiral patiently and silently, you will certainly know, and it is necessary that you should know, what it is he has promised, and for what he has solemnly pledged himself to you. Does the Admiral mean, as the Minister formerly told us, that in order to make it an honourable Peace, an indemnification will be necessary for all the lives which have been sacrificed, and all the millions which have been squandered, in this

this unjust, disgraceful, and disastrous War? I do not mean, without any deduction from the Prussian subsidy, for value received: I mean that part of it which was paid for the protection of Hanover, though for my own part I would not consent to deduct a farthing for it.

“ Does he think it a necessary condition of an honourable Peace, that Despotism should again be re-established in France? [*Many of the People cried out, No! No!*] Gentlemen, I beg you not to forget that I expect that answer from the Admiral, and not from you.

“ Does the Admiral think it a necessary condition, that the Stadtholder should be restored to that Despotism in Holland which he before obtained by the intrigues of our Ministers and the Prussian troops?

“ Does he think it necessary that the Emperor should again be empowered, notwithstanding our guarantee to the contrary, to pillage and enslave Brabant and Flanders?

“ Does the Admiral think it a necessary condition, that no European Power but ourselves should possess a Foreign Colony?

“ Most probably the Admiral will not say that these are now the necessary conditions of an honourable Peace; for by this time they must have passed away even from the dreams of the Minister. Perhaps, on the contrary, the Admiral and the Minister may now tell us very reasonably, and truly, that the honourableness of the conditions of a Peace depends upon the circumstances and situation of the Country which makes it. Perhaps he will tell us, that Denmark acknowledges the French Nation and Government!—that Sweden acknowledges them!—that Venice and Tuscany, and Switzerland and Genoa, acknowledge them!—that America not only acknowledges, but is united in the closest bonds of friendship with them!—besides our *amiable* Allies of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco. Perhaps the Admiral will tell us, that Prussia has been pretty soundly beaten by them, and is now partly a defensive Ally, and partly, as far as the line of demarcation is concerned, an offensive Ally also!—that Spain has been conquered by them, and is now in defensive alliance with them, and, without great care, will soon be offensive too!—that the Italian dominions of the King of Sardinia have been conquered, and are now actually in their possession, and the King himself at their feet!—that Holland has been conquered by them, and is now established a free and independent Republic!—that the French are now in possession of the Netherlands, and of most of the German Territories on this side the Rhine! He may tell you more: he may tell you, that a blacker cloud hangs over our head. He may, perhaps, tell you, that if, by our great superiority at sea, we should once convince the French, and all Europe, that they cannot possibly hold a single island in the West Indies, or a single establishment in the East, they may probably change their plan, and convert

vert it into a war of devastation in the West, and to an auxiliary war in the East, and effectually prevent us from having any benefit in those foreign settlements in which we will not permit them to have any share.

“ If he should tell you all this, he will tell you nothing but the truth ; and if he shall maturely reflect upon these things, he will probably, before he leaves you, change the words of his promise and his pledge, and may think those terms of peace fit and honourable in our present situation, which would have been thought the basest and most disgraceful in any former situation which this Country ever held, *before they were cursed with the present incapable, tyrannical, and detestable Ministry.*—He will, therefore, probably change the words of his promise, and pledge himself to vote for a speedy and necessary Peace.—He will tell you his mind upon this to-morrow ; he will explain to you what he meant by that honourable Peace ; and if he should not do it in words, his silence will explain itself.”

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8.—ELEVENTH DAY.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were,

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | 3665 |
| Sir Alan Gardner, | - | - | - | 3605 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | 2215 |

Mr. TOOKE said, “ Gentlemen, I have as much private and personal respect for Sir Alan Gardner, as I have for any Gentleman with whom I am as little acquainted ; and yet, it was not for his sake, but for your’s, that I requested you to hear him patiently, and not to let him go away as great a stranger as he came. By stranger, I mean, that you should be as little acquainted with his political sentiments and principles, as you were the first day he set his foot upon the Hustings.—You have heard him, and a most extraordinary explanation he has given of what he means by an *honourable Peace—a Peace of which we are not to be ashamed.* But would it not be well, if he could tell us of a War of which we should not be ashamed ? But to know what he means by an honourable Peace, you must press him farther ; for we know as little by his present explanation as we did before. Perhaps, so great is his attachment to and opinion of his friend the Minister, he may be inclined to think that any Peace, or any War, will be honourable, which the Minister shall approve. Consider that you will have no other opportunity of inquiring into the sentiments of your Representatives for six or seven years to come. For the Minister, as I take it, has sent Sir Alan Gardner here upon this occasion for two reasons. The first, and as I suppose the chief reason, is, that he imagines he can rely upon his vote in the House of Commons. The second reason is,

is, that he is a professional man. The Minister is very grateful to those who vote as he would have them. Preferment out of a profession always vacates a seat in Parliament, but professional preferment does not. The Minister, therefore, chooses a professional man for his Candidate at Westminster, kindly and genteelly towards you, merely to save you the trouble of repeated Elections. The Minister, I have no doubt, would, if he could, save you the trouble of having any Election at all: he certainly takes as much care as he possibly can to prevent it. He proved it to you not long ago, when he made *Lady Hood* a Peeress! [*Some persons hissed, some shouted, some laughed.*] It is impossible for me to know whether the Gentlemen hiss at the Peerage or at me. [*Numbers shouted, "The Peerage! the Peerage!"*] I beg not to be misunderstood; I mean to make no reflection on the Peerage: I say now, as I have said before, that Lord Hood has not had half what he deserves. I mention it only as an instance of the Minister's care to prevent you trouble; for when he had secured the Peerage to the family, he delayed the Patent to Lord Hood till the dissolution of Parliament, in order to defeat your Election of a new Representative.

"Gentlemen, on the same principle, if you should, which, notwithstanding the numbers on the Poll, I still think you will not do; but if you should return Sir Alan Gardner your Representative in Parliament, I much fear we shall lose the benefit of his exertions in his first profession against our foreign enemies: for I should not wonder if the Minister should be unwilling to trust Sir Alan again to sea, for fear some accident should happen, to produce that which he dislikes more than all other things, another Westminster Election. It is fortunate, however, for the Admiral, that he has taken up a new profession, that of combating our domestic enemies. I call it a new profession, because it certainly never before was understood to make a part of the qualification of a seaman. I refer to the Admiral himself. I am sure he will acknowledge, that when he was examined and passed as a Lieutenant in the Navy, not one single question was put to him by the Board of Admiralty about the means of annoying domestic enemies. But this new profession he has now taken up: he has pledged himself to combat the domestic enemies of the Country. Surely, then, it is fair to ask him to explain himself. Surely, it is fair to ask him to point out these domestic enemies;—it may be done in two words: he may tell us who they are, and with what weapons he means to combat them. Who but himself can tell? Perhaps, when the Admiral talks of domestic enemies, he means me; perhaps he means you; perhaps he means the Electors of Westminster who have supported me; perhaps he means all those who are enemies to his friend the Minister. If he does so, that would be a large list indeed; for it would include all those persons who are the real and true friends of their Country.

"But

" But I am not willing to give the Admiral too long a task at once: perhaps the length of what I said yesterday, may be the cause of the shortness of his answer to-day. Let him tell us first, then, who these domestic enemies are: let him satisfy us that he has not made a formal declaration of war against *Palstaff's men in buckram*, and in *Kendal Green*! The Admiral must have meditated deeply on this subject: he must have done so; it is impossible that he should rashly have dishonoured his Country by supposing domestic enemies, unless he certainly knew that there were such. Let him first, then, declare these enemies, and we will come to him for instructions how to combat them. We will fight against them under his standard, under any standard—except the standard of the present Minister: for he treacherously told us formerly, that the Proprietors of Boroughs were our domestic enemies; and afterwards, by the most atrocious means, he endeavoured to take away our lives for following his own instructions. They certainly were his own instructions; for I have them in his own hand-writing. And yet I ought to be cautious how I say *certainly*; for I have no better authority for it than *the Minister's own oath* in the late Trials at the Old Bailey!"

THURSDAY, JUNE 9.—TWELFTH DAY.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were,

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | 3961 |
| Sir Alan Gardner, | - | - | - | 3884 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | 2303 |

Mr. TOOKE said, " Gentlemen, You have with great propriety listened patiently to the Admiral this day; and I think in some measure you have been paid for it. You see it is very plain that he does not want words, and it is very plain to me that he does not want matter. The only difficulty which he appears to me to labour under, springs not from himself, but from another quarter. He is restrained; he *must not let out too much*!! As he explained to you what he meant by an "*honourable PEACE*," so has he explained what he meant by "*domestic ENEMIES*!!" Gentlemen, I have discovered who are the domestic enemies—you may discover it, not from their words, but from the *practice of the Minister* and his followers. You know that disciplined armies are not permitted to plunder and pillage their friends: those are the enemies from whom *they take the booty*.

" Gentlemen, a NATION that has been treated as this has been, has a right to demand two things—*security* for the *future*, and *JUSTICE* for the *PAST*!!! One of the Candidates, Mr. Fox, by his declarations to you from the Hustings, has given you full reason to be satisfied, that he will exert his utmost endeavours to obtain them both for you. For my own part, for all that is personal

sonal to myself, I should be well contented to let the *delinquents go free*, provided we could obtain security for the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE in future. The *other Candidate* has given you *no reason to expect his assistance* in obtaining either. He is looking anxiously forward to that *honourable PEACE*, of which neither *he*, nor *you*, nor the *Minister*, will be *ashamed*. The *Minister* ashamed of the peace! Who has *not* been *ashamed* of the War!! The Admiral sorrowfully told you, he might be reduced to *half-pay*; and, that in case of such an event, his *Major-Generalship* of the MARINES would not be worth more to him than about *six hundred pounds a year!!!*—[*Great shoutings, and interruption for some time.*]—Gentlemen, I am frequently compelled, perhaps from the improper manner in which I express myself, to request you not to misunderstand my words. The GENERAL, I mean the Admiral, though indeed I might call him either, for he is both!! [*again shouting and interruption*] I do not mean to cast the slightest imputation upon the *reward he has received!!!* Before God, I think *he deserves* double. But the Admiral did not, as I wish he had, he did not seem to cast *a thought*, at least he did *not utter a word*, concerning those *other gallant Officers* in the service, who, with an equal claim with himself to reward, will be reduced as well as himself to half-pay, and have *no friend* in the Minister to make them also *Generals of Marines*. Another consideration affects me much more strongly: If there are to be *sham* Generals and *sham* Colonels of Marines for the Officers, why are there not also *sham* marines for the *private* men? However, Gentlemen, these neglected Officers and Privates will certainly have *one resource* left. They, too, may take up the *new* profession against the *domestic enemies!!!* and it would not be wonderful if they all did so. The sea service is not a very active one, compared to this new service. Few Admirals, however fortunate, can expect to be in more than five or six brilliant actions in the course of their lives. The Admiral has been in some. I mean to do him justice. But look at the other profession: see the difference of *the activity* and the difference of *the booty*. I will give you an instance of it. I mean that of Mr. WILLIAM GRENVILLE, now Lord Grenville, who is still a very young man. Look at his activity and exploits. I think *he* commenced his political warfare against *domestic enemies*, in the office of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and he contrived, in that situation, to gain and take from *the enemy* one or two very comfortable reversions. But, Gentlemen, this was *only skirmishing* in Ireland;—and, therefore, very fortunately for us, I mean very fortunately for *him*, (one is very apt to make these mistakes in speaking) I say, very fortunately for him, he came over to us in England to join the *main battle* against *the foe*. He had scarce set his foot in the Country when he attacked, not a very strong post, I mean, a seat at the Treasury Board, and that produced him 1600*l.* a-year. [*Many of the People cried, "What! no more?"*] You say, "*What! no more?"*" HE said, "*the same!!!!*" However, he was scarcely warm in his seat

feat, than he was again *in action*, and was quickly made *Paymaster General of the Forces*! This brought him 2000*l.* a-year!! But still his mind ran more upon receipt than payment—he soon quitted that station to become *Speaker of the House of Commons*, and that place is worth 6000*l.* a-year!!! You think now, perhaps, that I have finished the list of *his exploits*. Nothing like it! The wig of the *Speaker* was scarcely fitted to his head, when he became Secretary of State and a Cabinet Counsellor. [*Many cried, "What is that worth?"*] What is *that worth*! Why, it is worth, besides the salary, just as much as the conscience of the possessor will let him make of it. But his activity in these hostilities does not stop here. He is quickly made a PEER! [*Numbers cried out, "What is that? what is that?"*] Why, I should have more difficulty to answer that question than any of the others. But his duty in the House as a Peer of the Realm, and his employment as a Cabinet Counsellor, and the business of his office as Secretary of State, were not enough for his *active* spirit. He had still time left for *farther hostilities*, and he was made *Ranger* of both the Parks. This brought him 2 or 3000*l.* a-year.—But all this would not do! He pushed on, and attacked an old dismantled fortification: many of the guns were dismounted, but still it shewed a formidable face to the *enemy*! He attacked it gallantly, and *took* it! He was made *Auditor of the Exchequer*! And this produces to him, I believe, 7000*l.* a year more!! Perhaps you will ask me, *When he will think he has enough*? I can tell you to a *farthing*. As soon as he is in possession of the *utmost farthing* he can get!

"Now, Gentlemen, there is something very strange, very extraordinary, which ought to be noticed, that in all these active services, and in all these *hardships* which he has gone through, this Gentleman was never once known, at least so far as I have ever heard, he was never known once to complain for *want of bread*; no, nor of the *deariness* of bread, nor of any *other pressure* which we all of us feel from our *Taxes* and other *Burdens*!! He had found a *substitute*! This is one of those wise Statesmen of this great Nation, who entered into a solemn league and covenant, into a solemn compact and agreement with each other, that, in order to relieve the public distress, they would not, for several months to come, touch—either *pudding* or *pye*! They proposed also a substitute for *you*. They did not indeed say what it should be; but these Ministerial Gentlemen are always very shy in explaining the terms and words which they make use of upon these occasions. You may have seen how it is here, [*looking at the Admiral*:] When we push them to explain the meaning of their words, they are as silent as dead men. There is a saying indeed, that "dead men tell no tales:" but that is not true in political matters; for in them it seems that dead men *only* tell tales.

"The famous Historian, Mr. Gibbon, who lately left us, has left a written account of *his* campaigns against the *domestic* enemy; and

and he explains the terms he uses as he goes. He too was for one or two Parliaments in the House of Commons—he too declared that he had a *friendship for the Minister*, and he explained the term.—By “friendship for the Minister,” he means that he *voted with him upon every question*. The Minister had likewise a friendship for him, and he explains what that meant. No bribery nor corruption—nothing of the kind. The Minister *gave* to him what he terms “a *convenient salary*” of 850*l.* a year! Whilst Mr. Gibbon held this post, the *domestic enemy* attacked it; the Minister’s troops were discomfited, and Mr. Gibbon lost the convenient salary! What should he do now? *Gratitude*, he says, made him join *another set of Ministers*. He explains the term *gratitude*, which he uses here, to mean the expectation he had of a *thousand* a year from them as a Commissioner of the Customs. Well! He fought with them under their banners, and they conquered: but then he complains that they did him great injustice; but he explains what he means here by injustice, and his explanation will make it unnecessary for me to explain any farther; these are literally his words: “My vote (says he) was counted in the day of *battle*; but I was *overlooked* in the *DIVISION* of the *SPOIL*!”

FRIDAY, JUNE 10.—THIRTEENTH DAY.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were,

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | 4233 |
| Sir Alan Gardner, | 4174 |
| Mr. Tooke, | 2407 |

Mr. TOOKE said,

“Gentlemen, The Admiral bids me go on, for he shall say no more.* He stopped at the word *Love*. You see how unfortunate he is now in his amours. No wonder, Gentlemen, he told you yesterday that he remembered the grand Rebellion in 45. But, Gentlemen, you hear every day from the other two Candidates; that the one or the other is at the head of the Poll:* I am afraid they may give you the change, and make you forget there is any

* Mr. Fox stated, that he was certainly disappointed in the result of this day’s Poll. He did not expect that he should have to inform them, that he was 18 below Admiral Gardner. But when he reflected on the affectionate regard which the Westminster Electors had already shewn him, and that there were still 5000 who had not voted, he hoped they would yet manifest their regard in approbation of his public conduct, so as to preclude the triumph of Administration, and the possibility of mistaking their own sentiments.

Sir Alan Gardner said, he was 18 a-head of Mr. Fox on this day’s Poll. If his friends would continue their exertions, he would still continue a-head of him. It was entirely owing to their *kindness*, their *favour*, their *partiality*, their *affection*, their *LOVE* for—[*A loud burst of laughter*] When silence was obtained, he told Mr. Tooke, that he had no more to add to his speech.

other struggle here than *which of these two* should be at the head of the poll. I have never troubled you with the state of the poll; and yet I have every day examined it: and since we are to talk of the poll, I will endeavour to make you understand it. I would not have you be discouraged at the numbers you see upon the board. In what I am going to say, I beg you not to suppose that I am ironical. I really am well contented with the state of the poll: and when I say I am well contented, I mean that the Public has reason to be well contented—for I am out of the question; it is their Election, not mine. It is of some consequence that you should understand this poll. To understand it, it must be dissected. I have dissected it daily. I may reason mistakenly, but I mean to reason fairly.

“ At the close of the Poll yesterday, it stood thus: Mr. Fox’s votes are of three sorts.

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|------|
| Votes for Fox and Gardner, | - | 1663 |
| For Fox and Tooke, | - | 1572 |
| Single Votes for Fox only, | - | 726 |
| Total, | — | 3961 |

“ To judge of this poll, you must consider the sorts of votes—because we must not dissemble; we must do justice to the *devil*. In order to estimate between the Public and the Minister, we must consider the influence which produced the votes. These votes for Fox and Gardner I attribute to the Minister’s influence. I cannot suppose that any of the personal friends of Mr. Fox, or of his politics, could have polled so unnaturally. If there should be an exception of two or three, or more, it would not alter the general aim of the reasoning. I suppose these 1663 votes to have been given to Mr. Fox by the Minister. I stated to you in the beginning of this Election, that I had the honour to be the Candidate *most hated* by the Minister; and for this there are many reasons. Amongst others, you know that the degree of personal malice which one man entertains against another, is not in proportion to the injuries received, but to the *injuries done*. The Minister has not yet attempted to murder the Right Hon. Gentleman, *but he has attempted to murder me!* This, then, Gentlemen, is one reasonable ground for my supposition. Besides, this my statement, the Admiral, who is the Minister’s Representative here, confirmed: for he told you in so many words, that he should chuse to be returned your Representative in Parliament with the Right Hon. Gentleman, rather than with me. Supposing, therefore, that these double votes for Fox and Gardner are to be attributed to the Minister’s influence, I deduct them from Mr. Fox’s poll, and with that deduction his poll will amount to 2298. I had polled last night 2303. I therefore estimate, that I had then polled five votes more than Mr. Fox. But I ought not to say that I have polled, but that the Public have polled. Now, I reason thus: If the Electors of Westminster, notwithstanding the long friendship they have had for Mr. Fox,

and

and their long acquaintance, have polled thus upon this occasion, they have done it from a just persuasion that their own lives are at stake in the present struggle; for if the Minister can murder small men in the manner he has attempted, he will soon be able to murder the great. This poll, therefore, springs from no dissatisfaction with Mr. Fox, but from your compassion for me, and your indignation at the attempt against me.

“ Let us now examine the Minister’s votes; I say *the Minister’s*—for Sir Alan is entirely out of the question. He will not be displeased with me for saying so. You may depend upon it, his vanity is not at all increased by this Poll—He knows it is the Minister’s, not his; and he wishes the Minister to have the full honour of it. The Minister has polled 3884. His numbers are, for Fox and Gardner, 1663; Gardner and Tooke, 15; single votes for Gardner, 2206. [*Great shouting by the Minister’s friends.*] There is no mighty occasion for exultation at the numbers; for he might have had the 1663 as single votes into the bargain. The 15 votes for Tooke and Gardner—(*Numbers cried out, “Give them to him, Give them to him”*)—No, I cannot spare to the Admiral these fifteen votes, as many of you would have me. It is so extremely unnatural a Poll, that I think it is easily accounted for. Certainly they did not vote for the Admiral by my influence; and as certainly they did not vote for me by the Admiral’s influence. Why, then, it evidently must have been thus: these are men whose principles and heart inclined them to the public cause; but they must have been under some commanding influence, which they could not refuse; and must have said, when applied to, as has often been the case, “Since you will have it so, I will give one vote according to your desire, and the other according to my own inclination.” I deduct, therefore, these fifteen from the Admiral’s Poll, and then his numbers will stand 3869. From my own Poll of 2303, I believe you will agree with me that I need not deduct any. I have no personal connexions, I have no personal influence, and I have no money.

“ What Mr. Fox has told you concerning the declaration of the public opinion by the numbers on the Poll, is of some importance; and yet I hope not of so great importance as some may imagine. If it is of importance that he should be at the head of the Poll, you must well bestir yourselves; for the Minister is at present at least 1500 before him—But do not be discouraged; and, if it is possible, put Mr. Fox at the head of the Poll, in spite of the Minister’s 1500; though I confess I think that the Public, in fair reasoning, have already declared themselves abundantly: for, when you consider, that, in the Minister’s Poll, the *Judges* have voted—the *Masters in Chancery* have voted—the *King’s Messengers*, his *Footmen*, his *Scullions*, and all that are dependent upon his Household, all that are dependent upon the Admiralty and all the other Boards, Officers in the Customs and Excise, and *others who have no right to vote*; you will see, when

all these come to be deducted, what a *thin, meagre, wretched skeleton*, the Minister's Poll will make.

"It is impossible to form a precise judgment of this Poll, until it is finally closed. This I can certainly say, that I have not, for my own part, yet polled one third of those who have declared themselves in my favour. At the close of the Poll I certainly mean to dissect the whole of it; and if it shall appear likely to be useful to the Public, I will give it to you—not by word of mouth indeed; for I must not, until another Election, talk to more than fifty people together, without the interference of a Justice of Peace; but for your information I will print it.

"I fear I have detained you too long. I shall add but one word more. Whilst I was addressing you yesterday, the Admiral made (what I wish he would more often make) an observation upon what I was saying to you. I was giving you an account, merely as a sample of the rest of the *grasping greediness and public plunder of Lord Grenville*; the Admiral said, he did not see what this had to do with the Election. I know it is a *fore* place; and for that reason I touched it. Now I think it had much to do with the Election and with the Public, and ought to influence materially the conduct of the Electors. It is of the utmost consequence to them; and if I had time, here upon the Hustings, I would inform them through what pockets all their enormous taxes flow. The Admiral surely knows of what consequence it often is to find out a leak at sea. I have found out the PUBLIC LEAK, not where it *runs in*, but where it *runs out*; and the consideration and importance of it ought to direct your votes; for if you return the Admiral to Parliament, he has not undertaken, and he will not undertake, to pursue any measures to stop this ruinous leak; but if you return me to Parliament, I CERTAINLY WILL EITHER STOP THAT LEAK, OR DIE IN ATTEMPTING IT.

SATURDAY, JUNE 11.—FOURTEENTH DAY.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were,

| | | |
|------------------|-------|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - - - | 4625 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - - - | 4486 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - - - | 2560 |

Mr. Fox addressed the Electors as follows: "Gentlemen, I am glad that by your exertions I am so high upon the poll, and that by so considerable a number as to put me more above the Admiral than I have been before at any period of this Election. It has been observed, that my Speeches from the Hustings have been hitherto confined to the matter at issue: I have always stated to you the situation of the poll, whether I was much at the head of it or not. I have done so for this reason, because I stood singly at this Election. As I first told you by my advertisement,

and

and my addressees before you here, I shall now state how we now stand on this poll, and shall compare the numbers for me with those for the Admiral rather than with those for Mr. Tooke, because the Admiral is the Candidate my superiority over whom appears to be the most important for the public cause. Some observations have been made on this poll yesterday: I shall trouble you with but very few. I see it in a more favourable view than those who have hitherto spoken of it. I cannot help thinking that this poll is to be taken thus—those who have voted for the Admiral singly—those who have voted for Mr. Tooke singly—those who have voted for me singly, joined to those who have voted for Mr. Tooke and me. Now, in one or other of these views this poll ought to be taken; and, viewing it so, I say there is a majority over Government of about 1000. This is a clear majority against those who have given their sanction to this War. It has been told you, and truly, that if you deduct from the numbers polled for the Admiral, all persons holding places, emoluments, or pensions, you would then indeed find the majority against Government to be of course greater in proportion to that deduction, which is a very large one certainly.—It has been said, that many who have voted for the Admiral, and who voted also for me, were so many votes given to me by the Minister—If so, I am a very ungrateful man, for I feel no gratitude whatever on that account; many persons give their votes at such a popular Election as this, more from motives of personal preference, than from any general view of politics: many did so in the last contest; and many, I have no doubt, gave them on the principles which Mr. Tooke stated to you. Some, I have no doubt, have been compelled to give their votes for the Admiral as one, and gave the other according to their conscience,—that was the case, I have no doubt, with the fifteen that Mr. Tooke mentioned, who polled for the Admiral, and for him—If there are fifteen in this situation with regard to him, I think I may say there are hundreds in that situation with regard to me.—I cannot help observing to you, that the Admiral told you he wished rather success to me than to Mr. Tooke—Possibly Ministers wish not to make an attack where they have the least chance of success; but if they do not carry on their domestic faction better than they have carried on the War, their reasoning upon that point will be very inconclusive.

“ I know from experience, that at the close of the Poll on the last day of the Election, it is very difficult to obtain a hearing; for which reason I shall now address to you a few words on topics of which I have hitherto forbore to speak, lest on Monday I should not have the same opportunity. In my advertisement I have given my opinion on the present Government of this Country, and of the Parliament who supported it. I will give you my opinion again as explicitly as I can. They have (whatever might have been their views and intentions)—they have been
the

the cause of spending more of the treasure of Great Britain, and shedding more of the blood of human beings in every part of this world, than any other Government that ever preceded them. With the word *humanity* in their mouths, they have filled every quarter of the earth with more misery, and, with *religion* in their professions, they have spilled more Christian blood, than any King, Prince or Emperor ever did in the annals of the world! They have been the cause of destroying more of God's creatures than the greatest Conqueror in ancient or modern history, and have lost more, at the same time than any of those Conquerors ever gained! This applies to them with regard to their foreign policy.—With regard to their domestic conduct, it is *most infamous*. They have sent MEN to Botany Bay, contrary to Law!—contrary to Justice!—contrary to the principles of Humanity, which ought to be the principle of all Law! They were tried, indeed; but their trials were conducted in such a manner, that every lover of Justice and of Humanity must revolt at it in his own mind. They have spilled no blood at home, indeed—with the exception of *one of their own Spies* in Scotland: But one of my competitors told you, they made an attack on his life: they did so, and on others also. Now, I appeal to all those who hear me, whether these Gentlemen themselves, whose lives were brought in question by this attack upon them from Government—whether they, I say, ever felt more than myself, or spoke more openly their sentiments, and expressed more strongly their resentment of these infamous prosecutions, than I have. I know it is the custom of the Ministerial Party to say, that I use inflammatory language to the People. If Ministers bring this Country to such a state as that a *recital* of it inflames the People, it is *their* fault, and *not* the fault of those who tell the People what their condition is. I do not wish the People of England to be inflamed; but I do wish them to feel a proper sense of the injuries they have received; and to express that sense *like Englishmen!*

“ The Law that was passed in the last Session of Parliament has made it impossible for more than fifty persons to meet without being subject to the interference of a Magistrate. If you take my advice, this Law will not disturb your meeting.—MEET! (*Great Applause*) MEET! Act in obedience to the Law, which does not forbid your meeting; it only empowers the Magistrate to commit you, if you act improperly. Meet, then, I say; conduct yourselves with propriety, and see whether any one *will dare* to oppose you. Bad as this Law is, by all means obey it—but unite with your obedience to this Law, a determination to express your opinions and sentiments of public measures and men, with the firmness and temper which becomes Freemen. By such a demeanor you will set a good example to the rest of the Kingdom, which must immediately have a good effect, and must influence in some degree the conduct of Ministers.

“ Gentlemen,

" Gentlemen, I have spoken plainly and openly to you ; and I will conclude with repeating, that in my conscience I believe that Government has been by none exaggerated *A more detestable one never existed in British History* ; and, not to detain you longer, I will sum up its character in two words. *This GOVERNMENT has destroyed more human beings in its foreign war than Louis XIV. and attempted the lives of more innocent men at home than Henry VIII.*

Mr. TOOKE said,

" It appears to me, Gentlemen, almost unnecessary to utter one word, after what Mr. Fox has said.—I am willing to concur in the statement of the poll which he has now given ; nor am I disposed to contest any thing with a man who has spoken as he has now done :

" This poll is now drawing towards a close, and this will probably be the last opportunity I shall have of addressing you. I will not tire you with thanks for the great favour and indulgence which I have experienced from you. I beg only to assure you, that no man alive feels the insults of enemies less, or the kindness of friends more.—If God shall be pleased to protect my life from disease, and from the putrid dungeons of tyrannical and sanguinary Ministers, whatever may be the final event of this poll, *I will certainly meet you here again upon the first vacancy.*

" Gentlemen, Ministers have dared to commence the Reign of Terror in this Land. I draw, therefore, the consequence from what Mr. Fox has said to you. Two objects alone shall engage the remainder of my life—To obtain for the People, what they have a RIGHT TO DEMAND, and MUST SOON HAVE, SECURITY for the FUTURE, and JUSTICE for the PAST.

MONDAY, JUNE 13.—FIFTEENTH DAY.

The Poll closed finally this day at three o'clock, when the numbers were,

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| For Mr. Fox, | - | - | - | - | 5160 |
| Admiral Gardner, | - | - | - | - | 4814 |
| Mr. Tooke, | - | - | - | - | 2819 |

The Election was consequently proclaimed by the High Bailiff to be in favour of Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardner.

Mr. Tooke was not present during the whole of the day. The Admiral *sneaked off*, amidst the hootings and hisses of surrounding thousands. Mr. Fox was CHAIR'D, with general approbation.

On

On the 14th June, the day after the Election, there appeared from Mr. TOOKE the following

ADDRESS.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN,

By the time when I shall next meet you at another Election, your Taxes, Burdens, and Oppressions, will be still heavier, and your desire of Relief more ardent; for the Ministers of this Country are pursuing a career in which they cannot stop. They must go on, or go off. Corruption, like a dropsy, will swell till it bursts: And the means of force and coercion which they have lately prepared for us—their Treason and Sedition Bills! their Volunteers! their Fencibles! and their Barracks!!!—only tend to hasten the Crisis.

Be moderate, and firm.....If we can do no better for our Country, let our carcases at least manure the soil which has fed us. Our Ancestors, in the last century, who fled from Slavery, loved Liberty WELL: But they who staid, and, by their sufferings and exertions, vindicated and established it, loved it BETTER, and deserved better of Posterity.

Again, Gentlemen, I request you to be moderate and firm; and we shall soon obtain, what ought to be the morning and evening determination of every Englishman—*Security for the future, and Justice for the past.*

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

Wimbledon, June 14, 1796.



JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

TUESDAY, JUNE 28.

THIS day a Meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to commemorate the late *triumph* of Mr. TOOKE's Election in Westminster; for it *was* a triumph, to have near three thousand unshorned, voluntary Voters, in support of Principle—of Principle against Interest—against every personal consideration of hope and fear—except the fear of not doing a duty—except the hope of self-approbation when that duty was done.

On this occasion, (sanguine as we were in the expectation, that the People are at length coming to their senses, and to be trified with no longer) we were surprised at the numbers who dined together. The room at the Crown and Anchor Tavern is by far the largest in London: That was crowded with five tables in it! and the overflow of people filled every room in the house!—a resort this, which, whether from curiosity or attachment (and it was much more the last than the first), was a very singular compliment to the various merit of Mr. TOOKE.

STEWARDS.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Sutton Sharp,</i> | <i>Henry Francis Harrison,</i> | <i>Michael Pearson,</i> |
| <i>Felix Vaughan,</i> | <i>William Tooke Harwood,</i> | <i>George Puller,</i> |
| <i>Arthur Blake,</i> | <i>Robert Holmes,</i> | <i>Walter Row,</i> |
| <i>Samuel Bourne,</i> | <i>George Knutton,</i> | <i>William Scott,</i> |
| <i>William Bosville,</i> | <i>Charles Macklin,</i> | <i>John Scotney,</i> |
| <i>Samuel Brooks,</i> | <i>William Maxwell,</i> | <i>Joseph Sharp,</i> |
| <i>Thomas Capel,</i> | <i>John Middleton,</i> | <i>George Smith,</i> |
| <i>Henry Cline,</i> | <i>John Milnes,</i> | <i>William Sturch,</i> |
| <i>George Crozier,</i> | <i>William Mcfarr,</i> | <i>Isaac Swainson,</i> |
| <i>Francis Dowling,</i> | <i>John Moody,</i> | <i>James White,</i> |
| <i>William Fend,</i> | <i>William Morgan,</i> | <i>Abraham Wood.</i> |

Tickets 8s. 6d. each.

WILLIAM BOSVILLE

Was unanimously called to the Chair.

Toast 1. "The INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER"—
(with three times three.)

The Chairman said, "Fellow-Countrymen, we have been told from the Hustings, that we are tied to a Tree—the Tree of Corruption: I give you as a toast,

2. "Pull—pull—pull—and pull again"—(with three times three.)

3. "SECURITY for the FUTURE—and JUSTICE for the PAST"—
(with three times three.)

4. "The Birth-day of our Liberties."

A Gentleman said, it was the wish of the company near him to drink the health of the person in whose Cause they were assembled; and therefore he should, without any apology, give

5. "JOHN HORNE TOOKE."

This toast was received with the greatest applause.

Mr. TOOKE said,

"Gentlemen, It will be impossible for me to thank you sufficiently for the honour you have done me. It is very much unexpected, because I understood that the Stewards did not intend to name any person in their toasts. We meet for Principles: and the most distant idea of any man, or any party, would certainly be an injury to our Cause. I accept and thank you for the toast, as the health of the Principles.

"It is totally unnecessary for me to say one word of exhortation to a company like this; but I may give you a word or two of comfort. The *Reign of Corruption*, you may be assured, is toward its close; and I will tell you on what foundation I build this opinion. I will do it as shortly as I can. A very little knowledge of our History will shew, that *Terror* was the engine principally employed for the Despotism of the STUARTS: That Government attempted to be absolute by Terror: they proceeded as Tyrants always do—using Power as their right hand, and Reason only as their left. A little more than an hundred years ago, they were shipwrecked in that attempt to govern by Terror. They succeeded in *murdering* those whom they pleased, and were *murdered themselves* for the *murders* which they had committed. A different æra, and a different system, followed; and those who did not dare to pursue the system of Terror, followed the system of Corruption: and this has drained the People almost to the dregs; for the conduct of Lord NORTH was such, that when Mr. PITT came into office, he did not find money enough to corrupt with—barely enough for *himself* and his *family*; and he was compelled to have recourse to the Corruption of Vanity. New titles were employed. We had but one Marquis then, and now we have them in great plenty. If I am not mistaken, this title of Marquis was first conferred in England by that weak Tyrant RICHARD the Second. Englishmen would not bear it; and the man upon whom it was conferred, was compelled to make an apology to the House of Commons, and get rid of the title. Another of Mr. PITT's methods was to increase the number of Knights of the Garter: It was determined that Princes of the Blood should not be reckoned among the established number. Another method was to establish the new Order of St. Patrick. Another method was

to pretend, that to be a Baronet was a necessary step to being a Baron, in order to make that foolish title of Baronet desirable; for a number of persons had said they were Gentlemen, and would not degrade themselves to become Baronets. But the source of Corruption being now almost dry, they proceed to the system of Slaughter! They attempt our lives! They think we are afraid to die—For they never resort to Terror whilst they can go on with Corruption. But as Ribbons are still desired, it is probable, indeed it is rumoured, that some fresh Orders will be created. And as we have this one advantage by the tax upon houses, that we are able to know how many there are in the land; so, if Mr. PITT will but give a Ribbon to every one who is willing to wear it, we shall be able to tell, exactly to an unit, how many *fools* there are in the Country.”

The Chairman said, “ Fellow-Countrymen, you have heard much of a substitute for bread: I will give you as a toast—

6. “ HALTERS—a proper substitute for Bribes and unmerited Pensions.”

7. “ A speedy removal of the stinking rubbish of the present Administration.”

The Chairman said, “ I have been desired to give a Toast—

8. “ The Right Hand of the PEOPLE.”

9. “ An effectual Stop to the National Leak.”

Mr. TOOKE said, “ I am desired by the Chairman, who has made himself a little hoarse, to give the following toast: It is the sentiment of Mr. Fox, and in his own words:

10. “ Destruction to that Administration which has destroyed more human beings in its foreign wars than LOUIS the Fourteenth, and attempted the lives of more innocent men at home than HENRY the Eighth.”

An Elector, whose name we do not know, said, that as they had drank the Universal Cause of LIBERTY, he should be glad if Mr. HORNE TOOKE would state to the Meeting, whether it is consistent or within the bounds of a Member of Parliament to explain his opinion upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform. He wished to know what Reform Mr. Fox did approve; for he understood Mr. Fox did not like Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. If Mr. Fox continued an enemy to all Reform, he could not expect the friendship of the People. Without Reform, he saw no use in their putting their Representative into the House; for Mr. Fox was always in a Minority whilst he opposed the Minister; and if Mr. TOOKE was in the House, he would be always with the Minority too. He wished, therefore, that Mr. TOOKE or Mr. Fox would inform the People what means they were to use to regain their Rights, and expel these profligate Ministers.

Mr.

Mr. TOOKE said,

“ Nothing in the world ever gives me more pleasure than to be called upon as the Gentleman has done. It is the manner in which Gentlemen should call upon all those persons who are their Representatives, or who offer to become their Representatives, and scrutinize every sentiment they hold which relates to Public Liberty. I am called upon for two things—one, which I can answer—and one which I cannot. As far as relates to myself, I am able to do it, I am willing to do it, and I am glad to do it; but when I am called upon to explain the sentiments of a Gentleman who is absent, I must beg to be excused. I think the best, and hope the best, of Mr. Fox, although there are some things still left unexplained by him. However, the moment will certainly arrive, when the Gentleman who spoke last, and myself, and all who think as we do, may compel him to explain himself upon this subject, even if he were not inclined to do so.

“ The Gentleman has supposed, that if I were in Parliament, I too should be with a Minority. I believe not; for both the Majority and Minority would perhaps be unanimous to hang me. For the means which the People ought to pursue to obtain a Reform in Parliament, I say, they ought to pursue any effectual means that shall be in their power. Individuals cannot do much: But, in my opinion, individuals ought to pursue their Rights, even though they should produce the most sanguinary measures from the Minister against them: they ought never to desist; for, though the Minister may slaughter them, the LIBERTY of the PEOPLE will arise out of their BLOOD!”

Mr. JONES made a very energetic speech on the necessity of steadily pursuing the grand object of Parliamentary Reform.

The Chairman said, “ Fellow-Countrymen, I am now come to the last toast, which I think so excellent, that I do not doubt but you will join me with three times three—

11. “ The Privates in the Ranks.”

A Gentleman desired to give as a toast,

12. “ The convicted Patriots of New South Wales, and the tried Patriots all over the World.”

Mr. BOSVILLE quitted the Chair about half past eight, amidst the applauses of the company, many of whom continued for some time longer in a convivial and peaceful circle.

Most of the toasts given by the Chairman were collected from the excellent speeches of Mr. TOOKE delivered from the Hustings.

Some excellent patriotic songs were sung by Mr. RUKIN and other Gentlemen. At ten o'clock the company adjourned, highly gratified with the entertainment of the evening.

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THE
S P E E C H
OF THE
RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX,
IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On Tuesday, March 24, 1795.

